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The **AMERICAN TEACHER**

**The Organ of
the American
Federation
of Teachers**

FEBRUARY, 1921

A New Form of Service



Report of the President



Should Teachers Unionize?



News from the Locals

L. M. MacIntosh
837 No. Carolina Ave S E
Washington D C

Democracy in Education

Education for Democracy

The Education of China

CHO SAM LEONG

Principal, Wah Mun School, Honolulu, Hawaii

CHINA became a republic ten years ago, but from 1911 till now the new republic has been harassed, and has not had a single day's rest.

There are many reasons for this, but the main one is the lack of education. I was among the first revolutionists of China, and know the situation of my country well.

The schools of China are fewer than in America. Ninety per cent of the Chinese have never attained to high school. Nearly all of the Chinese teachers in the high schools and universities are graduates of schools in Japan. They have espoused monarchism and old ideas, and treat the Chinese pupils like slaves. Practically all of the pupils who graduate from the Chinese schools know nothing of the principles of justice and freedom, or of the aims of the Republic. They are purposely not instructed in these ideas.

So the important revolution for China today is the reformation of the Chinese teacher and thru him of education.

Teachers' unions in the American Federation of Teachers are found all over the United States, and I am a member of one of those unions. I hope that I can interest my fellow teachers in China in this great and progressive movement for the absolute freeing of teachers and pupils.

I think that a teachers' union in China, under the American Federation of Teachers would wake up the Chinese teachers to progressive ways of thinking.

CHINESE TEACHERS' STRIKE SPREADING

THE teachers' strike, involving eight Government schools and universities and 6,000 students, which began last week owing to the Government's inability to meet the teachers' demands for four months' back pay, is now assuming nationwide importance, due to the teachers' demands that the Government reserve a fixed annual revenue for educational purposes.

The Minister of Education attempted to resign last week owing to his inability to obtain funds to meet the arrears of salary due the teachers and to insure that the Government would establish a permanent educational fund. He remains in office, however, owing to pressure from the teachers and will stand or fall with them. He now is attempting to obtain the cooperation of the Chinese Chambers of Commerce to induce the Government to reserve a portion of the income tax for educational uses.—*From Cable Dispatch to N Y Evening Post.*

Showing that Chinese teachers do need the union.

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One Dollar a Year

A NEW KIND OF CRITICISM OF UNIONISM

Mr Glenn Frank, the Editor of *The Century Magazine*, writes in the February issue of that periodical a critical analysis of the union movement among teachers. The first impression a reader may get of Mr Frank's editorial (reprinted by consent, see page — of this issue) is that this is another attack, but it is not that. It is highly intelligent and has the ring of sincerity. If we do not agree with Mr Frank, we should tell him wherein he has erred. Our members are urged to go over the editorial carefully, and write Mr Frank what they think of it. Our movement will hold together not because we get something out of it, but because it is sound. It is entirely fitting that members should welcome criticism that strikes at the foundation of the union movement. Thus we invite a test, which is always good.

A NEW FORM OF SERVICE

Certain quoted paragraphs contained in this issue relate to a school survey at present under way in the City of New York. This survey is being conducted by teachers. It is without question the first activity of this kind ever begun by teachers in their own territory. This particular survey is undertaken without the consent and approval of the educational authorities. There is even opposition on the part of the officials. All of this, however, is incidental to the important fact that teachers are beginning to show interest in the facts of their surroundings. This interest must lead to the creation of standards for the improvement of conditions, and later to activity in the direction of establishing the standards as codes of practice. There are certain economic reasons why no other group will put itself out to establish the best possible conditions in the schools, even for the children. If the teachers are

unwilling to undertake it, even with the risk involved to their comfort of mind, then it will not be done at all.

Teachers must do it, and especially union teachers. Others are likely to regard this form of service as improper, or undignified. But it is particularly important to union teachers to consider this form of work as perhaps one of the first and best of the possible contributions they may make out of their idealism. New York is ready to give advice to those in other parts who think well of this form of service.

TEACHERS' COUNCILS

Now and then there are hopeful indications that the idea of the teachers' council is finding acceptance. In fact, union teachers generally believe that the frequent adoption of the council will be the first step we shall take in the direction of participation in school management. Nevertheless, there is increasing doubt in the minds of many that the council in the form in which it was originally framed, the one in which it is still commonly thought of, will meet the growing demand for participation. The objection offered to the typical council plan is that its recommendations involve no responsibility. It has no legal opportunity to test its own suggestions. It has no real incentive to continue to make contributions. There is no reason why it should begin to make suggestions. Something of this point of view has been expressed by Prof. John M Brewer, of the Harvard School of Education, in *School and Society* of September, 1920,

THE WOLF IN THE SHEEP'S SKIN

The one crying need of "Big Business" at the present moment is a large mass of docile, contented, easily manipulated unskilled workers. As long as the hordes of foreign immigrants of a decade or two ago were beating in constantly

accelerated waves upon our shores, there was nothing to worry over. As one contingent after another became acclimated to the political and economic conditions of our country, as the individuals passed, either slowly or rapidly, thru that vague process—Americanization—and were absorbed into the citizenship of our population, others followed on their heels and kept the ranks solid. There was no lack of ready hands and seemingly inexhaustible energy that the bottomless pit of our industrial structure demands. The employers of labor, the magnates of our sources of production did not have to waste their time devising plans how to educate their "hands," how to provide for them adequate schooling, how to free them from the shackles of illiteracy. Now, however, the aspect of the matter has changed completely. The world war and the artificially restricted immigration we have adopted as a policy, have cut us off from the labor market of the world. While the unionization of those who came in previous years, as well as the adoption of the American standard of living, have played havoc with the vast aggregations of Poles and Slavs and Italians that had constituted the raw men power, out of which the unskilled laborers were recruited. Of all this, our industrial machinery is beginning to show the strain.

What is to be done? Obviously, one thing. Keep the workers complacent, acquiescent—in short, make them stick to their jobs by subjecting them to those influences that will act as intellectual and emotional opiates, that will produce a lethargy of the newly aroused and stirring desires to think for themselves. Wean them away from their trade unions with their constant efforts after higher standards, cause them to shut their ears to the siren voices of the agitators, teach them to look up to their employers as beneficent, kindly disposed "little white fathers" whose sole interest in life is to make their workmen happy.

But how is it to be accomplished? Where is to be obtained that personality—that combination of intelligence, subserviency—yes, even hypocrisy, that will do the bidding of the master, and at the same time hold the confidence and faith of the workers? And here is the answer:

[The italics are ours.] "For immigrant schooling, the *factory obviously offers* better promises than the *school house*. Such instruction should be given in co-operation with the employers, but at *public expense* and under *government direction*." Strange, that so perfect a solution of a troublesome problem was not thought of before! and stranger still, that it was left for such forward-looking gentlemen as Coleman DuPont and William H Barr—both time-tried friends of labor, working thru the Inter-Racial Council (headquarters, New York) to evolve it. But no, let us give credit where credit is due. It is Albert S Shiels, late Superintendent of Public Schools of Los Angeles, California, and now the educational expert attached to the Inter-Racial Council who signs his name to the pamphlet from which the statement quoted above is taken. It is thus we are let into the secret as to what the Inter-Racial Council seeks to attain, and once more the word must go out to the little band that follows the gleam, and keeps the faith—on guard, brothers, on guard!

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Board of Editors

HENRY R LINVILLE, Chairman

From Local 5, New York
ALICE M HERRING
ABRAHAM KOVAR

From Local 24, New York
JOHN E MANSFIELD

From Local 71, New York
BIRD STAIR

From Local 87, Jersey City, N J

From Local 92, Paterson, N J
THOMAS P KYLE

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Our Duty

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ

Local 5, New York, A F of T

We are now witnessing the tragic aftermath of the world's greatest and most destructive war which cost over \$300,000,000,000 or more than the value of the continent of North America. It cost the world over 9,000,000,000 of its choicest manhood. It is responsible for world underproduction, for economic inefficiency, for the starvation of European masses. It presages panics, bankruptcy, minor wars, an increase in the death rate, in crime, in insanity, in tuberculosis, in typhus, and in immorality. It means the under nourishment of millions of children and racial deterioration. It means the liberation of man's sordid instincts and the suppression of ideas civilization has developed. These blessings and others our arch-imperialists have bequeathed to us and, saddest of all, to our posterity.

The war was fought for democracy, for the rights of small nations, for the destruction of economic imperialism, for disarmament and for world peace. We secured world misery, numerous wars, increased armaments, the rape of small nations and tho we destroyed German imperialism, we replaced it with a group imperialism, destined to bring even more destructive wars in its wake. In addition, we won autocracy in industry and reaction in politics. In a word, we lost things won after years of sacrifice and bloodshed and gained practically nothing for which we fought and sacrificed. When I think of the good that could have been accomplished had \$300,000,000,000 and millions of men been employed for creative, humane and social purposes instead of for destructive, inhuman and anti-social purposes, I cannot refrain from asking, why war?

I shall not discuss the need for drastic economic reconstruction to eliminate world imperialism and its necessary concomitant—war. Instead, I shall touch briefly on that aspect of the question which vitally concerns us—the *educational*.

America is spending \$2,838,118,000 or 68 per cent of its annual income to pay for past wars;

\$855,956,963 to maintain its present military system as a preparation for future wars and expects to increase this sum to \$1,500,000,000. At the same time, we appropriated but \$481,744,726 for all other governmental activities. Our democracy, to which a dying world is looking hopefully for salvation, is annually expending 88 per cent of its total income for war and but 12 per cent for all of its constructive governmental activities! And of the 12 per cent only 1 per cent or \$57,093,663, is spent for *education and research*—the only hope of a maddened world. Who is responsible for this tragedy?

The world is suffering because of miseducation and for this we teachers are largely responsible. We have taught a jingo patriotism; we have glorified imperialism and tho we ignored the Metschnikoffs, the Edisons and the Bessemers of history, we found time to laud the deeds of generals, to speak eloquently for military training and to inculcate assiduously the silly and exploded doctrine of *preparedness*. While we extol the virtues of "preparedness" at one moment, in the next we teach that Sparta, a nation armed to the teeth, always ready for aggressive war, disappeared leaving no wholesome influence upon civilization; that Rome, the military camp of the ancient world whose legions dominated from Britain to the Tigris, crumbled under the onslaught of the Barbarian hordes. That Napoleon, the world's greatest military genius, failed miserably in his attempts to create a world military hegemony; and last, but not least, that Germany, heretofore prosperous and happy, growing by leaps and bounds, when animated by the philosophy of "preparedness," created the most efficient fighting machine the world has known and as a result, her people are now miserable and bankrupt, the objects of pity and charity.

The nations of the world now face the parting of the ways. They must decide whether they will travel the road to peace and a higher civilization or the road leading to war and the eclipse of civilization. The road to be taken depends

largely on the ability of the teachers to fulfill the duty they owe civilization. As teachers, we must not glorify war or gloss over its iniquities. We must not continue to mislead the children who look to us for truth and guidance. We must justify their faith in us by showing war in all its *horror and nakedness*. We must not, like Mr Fred M Hunter, Superintendent of Schools of Oakland, California, and President of the National Education Association, be guilty of glorifying *militarism* and of developing the military spirit in the youth of the land. Instead, we must tell the *truth about war*. Only the truth can free the world from the hideous nightmare of militarism and imperialism—the twin enemies of civilization. Since the National Education Association (if its president is its spokesman, as I believe he is) is guilty of developing the military spirit in the adolescent, since it is engaged in glorifying war, in encouraging universal military training and in preaching the philosophy of “preparedness,” since it has thus shown itself a traitor to America and its ideals, it devolves upon the union teachers of America and their organization—The American Federation of Teachers, to undertake the task of teaching the truth about war (and everything else for that matter), of so educating the workers and the children that they will see the futility of using aggressive force, violence or repression as weapons of progress. Tho I speak against war I ask you to enlist in a war on behalf of civilization by teaching the truth about war. Education alone can save our dying civilization and we teachers must not falter in the duty we owe to ourselves, to our organization, to our country and to civilization. May we have the courage to teach the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth!

PURCHASING POWER OF SALARIES 1901-1920

If a study of the purchasing power of salaries is carried back to 1901, the shrinkage and deficiency of salaries indicates in the lower figure, page 48, is still more striking.

The purchasing power of a salary of \$1,200 was equal in October, 1920, to 400 “1901” dollars based on retail food prices. The 1920 equivalent of a salary of \$1,200 in 1901 was \$3,600.

THE PUBLICITY WORK OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

JOSEPHINE COLBY

Field Secretary, A F of T

When the facts about the American Federation of Teachers are presented where they can have a fair hearing, the result is that the American Federation of Teachers makes friends. The making of friends for the American Federation of Teachers is of course the purpose of the publicity campaign. Nation-wide publicity is a problem different from that of publicity for a school system in a single big city; in a given city the news stories released go straight to the public concerned. The work of a publicity director for a national movement is different, in that the news stories released from a given center will be printed in some towns and rejected in others; the aim cannot be as definite, nor can the results be measured with anything like the same accuracy.

The means most likely to avail us in our nation-wide campaign are three:

1. The release of stories by the publicity agent from headquarters thru agencies like the Associated Press and United Press. Publicity prepared by the director and mailed out to the locals for release in the local press.
3. Articles written by outsiders and published in the periodical press.

The Publicity Bureau has used the national daily press to good advantage. The clipping service shows that the circulation has attained totals of over 5,000,000.

In checking up the extent of the returns from this Publicity Service, we need your help. Appoint a clipping committee. Send us all clippings about the A F of T.

The second means of publicity requires a local committee to place in the local press stories prepared and sent out from Chicago. These stories will be mailed direct to your press chairman.

The third means of publicity,—that of reaching and interesting editors and other capable writers who are not union members, has been a most promising feature of the work of the publicity director. One result of the publicity campaign will be a better team-work between the locals and the National Headquarters.

Report of the President to the Fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers

CHARLES B STILLMAN

President, The American Federation of Teachers

Our last convention was termed a Reconstruction Convention. It was foreseen then, and has now been all too convincingly demonstrated, that our conventions for many years to come will be Reconstruction Conventions. For the problems facing us have increased in complexity and urgency, and upon the method and spirit of their solution depends even more of progress or disaster for our country. Again, questions of fundamental purpose of internal organization, of formulation and carrying out of policy, of meeting misrepresentation, of genuine Americanization, of awakening in the mass of the teachers and of the public a keen consciousness of the progressive deterioration of our schools, and of the indispensable drastic remedies, of practical procedure in rendering maximum service to the community—questions which will have a determining influence on the future of our organization, the effectiveness of our schools, and the quality of American citizenship, will test to the utmost the intelligence and public spirit of the delegates to this convention. In this continuing emergency we can look forward with confidence to the deliberations of this national delegate body of classroom teachers.

The past year of extreme reaction has been a testing time for all liberal and democratic movements. The report of the Secretary-Treasurer has shown many setbacks but also many substantial victories, and the chartering of half a hundred new locals. In the face of concentrated and unscrupulous opposition from the reactionaries within and without school circles, during a period of post-war moral and social depression, the American Federation of Teachers has held its own surprisingly well. And our influence has extended far beyond our membership. In hundreds of communities one of the influences behind the granting of increases in teachers' salaries has been what to many misinformed or unprogressive school authorities has seemed the specter of possible affiliation of their teachers with our move-

ment. And more important than that, even during this period of the temporary eclipse of the idealism of democracy, in teachers' organizations controlled by school administrators, the old line superintendents have been compelled at least to yield a surface semblance of democracy, as the price of retaining the realities of control. Our direct achievements have been noteworthy, but the more indirect effect on school policies of our forward-looking program vitalized by a functioning national organization has been even greater, both thru its restraining influence on those accustomed to arbitrary authority, and thru the favorable atmosphere for progress it creates.

It would be superfluous, if not impertinent, for me to recount the history of our victories of the past year, when we have the delegates here to give us the inspiration of their first-hand experiences. It is misleading to select a few locals for special mention, since the smaller locals, and those which have been working more quietly but no less effectively, often have the most profitable suggestions. But those who have been following the Secretary's Bulletins, and *THE AMERICAN TEACHER* will insist on hearing more from San Francisco, Fresno, New Orleans, Memphis, Atlanta, New York, Gary, Chicago and St Paul among others. This exchange of experiences, of problems and methods of attack, will be a valuable part of our convention, and all delegates are hereby warned that they may be called on whenever opportunity offers. This applies with equal force to the delegates from locals which may have been less successful. We must analyze our mistakes and defeats as well as our successes, and learn to capitalize our varied collective experience.

The Smith-Towner Bill

Support for the Smith-Towner Bill has grown stronger, and opposition has also crystallized. The opposition seems to center chiefly in the private school interests, altho private schools would be in

no way affected by the measure, except as the financial strengthening of the public schools by federal and state appropriations made them more efficient, and thus made their fair competition more difficult for private schools to meet. There is much sincere opposition based on a wholesome fear of possible bureaucracy. If the American Federation of Teachers had not been convinced that effective safeguards against the dangers of bureaucracy had been provided in the measure, both the American Federation of Teachers and the American Federation of Labor would certainly have withheld their cooperation. Both organizations have had intimate experience with the evils of bureaucracy. If the present section guaranteeing absolute state and local autonomy in education is not deemed sufficient, any provisions making it still stronger and clearer, I am very sure, would be acceptable to the American Federation of Teachers and the American Federation of Labor, and I am confident also to Secretary Magill, in charge of the bill, for the National Education Association.

Constructive legislation of this magnitude and character always stands a poor chance for consideration during the short sessions of Congress, crowded with appropriation and other routine matters. The political situation also makes it unlikely that this matter will come to a decision before the next administration takes office. Because of Senator Harding's response to a presentation of the educational situation to him at Marion last September by a group of teachers representing the American Federation of Teachers, the National Education Association, the Illinois State Teachers' Association, and Chicago teachers' organizations, we can expect a forceful presentation to Congress of the needs of the schools of the nation by the incoming President, and a continuing active interest in the educational crisis. This convention will be interested in knowing that the delegation of teachers included Directors McCoy and Tanner of our Better Schools Service, who were the leaders, and responsible for the idea and its successful working out, the Secretary-Treasurer and President of the A F of T, and Miss Allen and Miss McCoy, President and Vice-President of Local 3.

Standards of Admission

The question of standards of admission to membership has not arisen so far, chiefly because our movement has appealed to the best and most progressive elements among teachers, and partly because the various states provide their own laws governing the certification of teachers, and while trying to raise those legal qualifications, we have never considered it our function to go behind them, nor has any other state or national teachers' organization. But the present wholesale lowering of standards of certification, and granting of emergency certificates, may make it wise to give careful consideration to that question. Membership in the A F of T must continue to mean qualified teachers, no matter how slack some states and communities may become. Where so much depends on personality, arbitrary standards are peculiarly dangerous and difficult to fix. Whether we should fix two years of training beyond the high school as a temporary minimum requirement, looking toward four years as teacher training facilities are developed, and the public is educated to demand and pay for expert service where society most needs it, or whether we continue to use all of our influence for higher standards without attempting to impose hard and fast rules, is a matter for the discussion and decision of the convention.

Tenure

There is little need to emphasize to this convention the importance of tenure. We all know how essential it is to the establishment and maintenance of professional standards. It is called particularly to your attention now not only because of the arbitrary dismissal of competent teachers by various autocratic boards of education, but also because of the evident intention of certain school authorities to weaken if possible some of the few tenure provisions now in existence.

An interesting example of the awakening of the public to the mockery of some of the present provisions is found in Buffalo. There the officers of the Teachers' Educational League are suspended and under trial for issuing a pamphlet in self-defense which sharply criticizes many phases of the school system. The board of education is hearing the cases, and public interest

has been so great that they have been compelled to hold their sessions in the court room of the criminal section of the Supreme Court to accommodate the audience. This brought into high relief the contrast in so-called judicial procedure. The Buffalo newspapers commented forcibly on the fact that the prosecutor who brought the charges, the jury, and the judge, were all sitting on the bench in the persons of the board of education. All the phases of the Buffalo hearings reveal conditions still undreamed of by the mass of the public, and we will have the opportunity to hear the story directly from the delegates of the Buffalo Teachers' Educational League, Local 182. We are indeed glad to welcome Buffalo our youngest local in point of affiliation, but a veteran organization with many victories on behalf of the schools to its credit.

A discussion of the Thanksgiving session of the Eastern Conferences of the A F of T brought out a point that is too often overlooked. Workers in many commercial and technical lines, such as the various kinds of engineering, can often make themselves indispensable by sheer ability, and thus solve their tenure problem. But it is easy for autocratic school authorities summarily to drop teachers of the highest efficiency and substitute inferior teachers without an outcry, unless the teachers themselves are strongly enough organized to protest, because the economic and social loss resulting from inferior teaching may not be apparent for many years, while the results of inferior engineering are immediately and unmistakably reflected in balance sheets. As a nation we must learn to draw social balance sheets, to evaluate the finding and to be guided by them.

Our Territorial Locals

Our locals in the Canal Zone and Hawaii, who cannot send delegates because of the distance, deserve special mention here. They are facing serious problems, and since they depend on Congressional action, we can all be of direct service to them. Their situation will be reported in detail by the proper committee. The power of the great planters of Hawaii complicates the problem there. Is the Canal Zone, the government has failed to keep its promise to maintain a schedule 25 per cent in advance of that prevailing in Wash-

ington, and the teachers are met with the old cries of no funds, and teachers can be secured more cheaply. If the teachers in the states understood the conditions in the Canal Zone, the last excuse would be even less true than it is now, and increased appropriations by Congress is the answer to the first. In both of these directions the American Federation of Teachers must assist its distant locals.

Progress in Lancaster

If any delegates are inclined to be cynical concerning the possibility of progress, if the disillusionment of the last year or two has been too much for native optimism and balance, a quotation from the November number of "Educational Issues" may be timely. A discussion of academic freedom is concluded thus:

"Some members of Boards of Education and university trustees are no more fortunate in their vision than was the Board of Education in Lancaster, Ohio, in the year of 1829, when a local debating society asked for the privilege of using the schoolhouse for public discussions. The members of the Board, considering themselves the guardians of liberty and the 'true' Christian faith, replied as follows: 'You are welcome to use the schoolhouse to debate all proper questions in, but such things as railroads are impossibilities and rank infidelity. There is nothing in the Word of God about them. If God had designed that His intelligent creatures should travel at the frightful speed of fifteen miles an hour by steam, He would have clearly foretold it thru His holy prophets. It is a device of Satan to lead immortal souls down to Hell.'"

To give pause to the most confirmed pessimist I need only add that a local of the A F of T has been flourishing in the same Lancaster, Ohio, for two years. And if the Board of Education of Lancaster, Pa., is cited as an example of the persistence of the same medieval spirit, surely the inspiring stand of the Lancaster teachers is a more than adequate offset.

Better Schools Service

During the past year something has been done for the schools. And there is grave danger that the public will be lulled by these palliative half-measures, and sink back into indifference. But

only a start has been made. Commissioner Claxton reports a demand for over a hundred thousand more trained teachers than the normal schools and colleges can supply, not including the great mass of untrained among those new teaching. A large proportion of school children are now under so-called teachers, who have little better than an eighth grade training and not always that. It is not necessary to add the scores of thousands of children who either are denied all school opportunities, or on a half-time basis because of shortage of teachers, to reveal the terrific indictment of the American peoples' lack of intelligent and effective interest in the childhood and future citizenship of our country.

There is no simple solution of this complex problem. One essential step is drastic increase and equitable distribution of school revenues. Salaries have been increased in number of dollars, but in purchasing power they are still far below even the wretched pre-war levels. As already mentioned, of at least equal importance is legislation insuring security of tenure based on professional efficiency. The great mass of teachers are now dependent on the caprice and favor of official superiors, who in turn, under our humiliating present system, all too often are subjected to selfish political and personal influences. Tenure protection, properly safeguarded against abuse, and the establishment of self-respecting and efficient teaching conditions, are indispensable to the creation and maintenance of high professional standards. Only by frankly and adequately meeting this situation can strong teachers with invaluable training and experience be retained in the schools for the service of the public, and can young men and women of superior personality and ability be induced to prepare for such service.

Because of the urgency and complexity of these problems, the Executive Council established our Better Schools Service. You are already familiar with some of the work of Directors McCoy and Tanner. A printed report of one investigation is in your hands. Additional reports will be presented to the convention. But much of the most effective work is necessarily of a nature that cannot well be presented. These

men, already overloaded with the bulk of the work of the Chicago Schools Committee in addition to their school work, have largely overcome a grievous handicap of lack of funds, by unstinted sacrifice of time and energy, including summer vacation and every personal consideration. And it is only simple justice to add that in return for this sacrifice and service, we have so far not been able to make any compensation. It is my earnest conviction that this convention should find ways and means to place the Better Schools Service and its Directors on an efficient and self-respecting basis.

Americanization

Another problem which must be faced immediately is the working out of a constructive and practical program of Americanization in the real sense of that much abused term. For children and adults, native and foreign born, this is an educational problem and the success or failure of any solution will depend largely on the classroom teachers. Since the American Federation of Teachers is the national organization of classroom teachers, this convention is peculiarly under obligation to devote itself to that question. The Directors of the Better Schools Service have prepared a statement which has been approved by the Executive Council and will be submitted to you. The convention should both adopt policies and point the way to their application.

Publicity

The reports of the Secretary-Treasurer and of the Better Schools Service have stressed publicity, and presumably every committee reporting to this convention will dwell on publicity as our key activity. It is becoming a commonplace that the fate of our schools depends on an educated and aroused public opinion. But hitherto efforts to reach the public have been spasmodic. And the public is notoriously lethargic and forgetful. One reason for the present wave of reaction which is as potent as post-war lassitude, is the fact that the profiteers and patrioteers, the self-styled open-shoppers, and destructionists of every type, have employed expert publicity service, while labor, and liberal and progressive movements in general have neglected that all-important field. The re-

sult is that the press finds an unlimited quantity of expertly prepared material ready to its hand on the reactionary side, and often can get only scant material on the constructive side even by much effort. I realize that this is only one angle, and leaves the question of bias entirely out of account, but liberals owe it to their cause to see that the path of least resistance for the press is not the backward path, and that obligations should be felt by our organization with special force. The only effective answer to ignorance, indifference, and misrepresentation is driving home to the mass of the teachers and the public, the needs of the schools, and the constructive purposes, methods and accomplishments of our movement.

And this means one thing, publicity. The Chicago teachers found and still find an expert publicity service indispensable. The intimate connection which Directors McCoy and Tanner have established with that service has been of very great value to our movement. But again finance is a problem. But I believe that this convention will give its best thought to the solution of a problem, upon which in a very real sense all others depend.

Unity of Purpose

The American Federation of Teachers has one objective—the establishment and maintenance of a public school system which will give every child the opportunity to develop his full abilities under competent instruction and to prepare for a complete life, are effective citizenship in a democracy. All teachers sharing that high social ideal should be enlisted for the duration of the struggle. And particularly at this critical time, we must do our best to prevent any alienation thru the intrusion of extraneous issues, whether religious, economic, or political. Not for one moment that we have any monopoly of worth while purpose and activities; there are many other vital issues, but there are also other organizations to handle them. We have dedicated ourselves to the reconstruction of our educational system to meet the ideal of our motto. And we know that many undemocratic forces are attempting to control the development of educational policies. Only a determined unity of purpose and action will save our schools, and make them the basis and agency of democracy.

THE TEACHER SITUATION

From Reports by Those Who Know

An impression prevails that the teacher shortage thruout the United States is no longer a serious problem. Recent reports received from county and district superintendents in every State clearly indicate that such a conclusion is erroneous. While the average condition is slightly better than last year, due to marked improvement in States where salaries have been greatly increased, the general situation remains practically unchanged. The number of schools without teachers and the still larger number taught by incompetent teachers show that a very serious situation still exists, particularly in those States where salaries are lowest.

On September 1, 1920, the National Education Association sent a letter to every county and district superintendent of schools in the United States, enclosing a return postal card upon which were asked ten questions regarding the teacher situation in their respective counties. The following is a tabulation of the replies received to three of the questions asked: (1) The number of teaching positions in the county or district covered by the report; (2) the shortage of teachers at the opening of school in September, 1920; (3) the number of teachers below standard whom it had been necessary to accept in order to keep as many schools as possible open. The standard referred to is, of course, the minimum for the given county or district, and teachers below standard are admittedly incompetent. The real shortage is, therefore, the sum of the actual shortage and the number of teachers below standard.

Inquiries were sent to 3,468 superintendents and 1,492 replies had been received at the time this tabulation was made, October 12. Every report is signed by the county or district superintendent making it, and the information is, therefore, the most reliable that can be obtained. The figures given in the first five columns are taken directly from the signed reports. The "estimated shortage and below standard" given in the last column is based on the assumption that the unreported counties of a State would show conditions the same as those reported.

Unquestionably the greatest educational problem before the American people is the securing of competent, well-trained teachers for every teaching position in training beyond a four-year high school course is the generally accepted minimum standard for teachers. The replies of county and district superintendents to the question, "What per cent. of your teachers have had two years or more of training beyond high schools," show that in only a few States have one-half the teachers had that amount of training, and that in a large majority of the States less than one-half have had that much. Some superintendents report as few as ten per cent. of their teachers having attained that standard.

The drive should be for a competent, well-trained teacher for every boy and girl in America. Until this shall have been accomplished, approximately, it cannot be said that the teacher situation is not a serious problem.

—From N. E. A. Press Service.

Should Teachers Unionize?

GLENN FRANK

Editor, *The Century Magazine*

This article is reprinted with the consent of the author. It is the view of *The American Teacher* that criticism of the level of this article should be welcomed by every member of the national organization. When you have read the article, and especially when you have thought it over carefully, for Mr. Frank himself has written thoughtfully, write to the author and give him your own reaction to the big question he has raised. If you don't write, *The Century Magazine* will think you don't care. We ourselves have the practical problem to solve. Shall we continue to try for industrial democracy thru the American Federation of Labor, or thru, for example, the National Education Association? Thru which are we more likely to obtain results? If not thru either, what then? Responses for publication will be welcomed by *The American Teacher*.

THE EDITORS.

Should teachers organize themselves into unions and affiliate with the American Federation of Labor? This question is to the fore wherever alert teachers assemble. The difficulty of arriving at any effective consensus of opinion among teachers is due to the fact that the discussions of the problem have to date failed to deal with the realities of the problem.

Nine-tenths of the written and spoken discussions of this issue are confined to the imperative urge to unionization implied in the glaring needs of teachers in matters of finance and freedom. The nation-wide debate on this problem has revealed a regrettably uncritical attitude toward the method proposed—trade-unionism. With only a few heartening exceptions, those who advocate the complete unionization of the teaching profession have frankly accepted trade-unionism as the best immediately practical approach to the problem of industrial and professional relations. It is true, of course, that many teachers, with an almost senatorial attitude of mind, have qualified the proposal of unionization with many reservations, promises that teacher will not strike as teamsters strike, and so on; but as far as the practical effect of the agitation is concerned, it registers approval of trade-unionism.

Even those who oppose the unionization of teachers have, in the main, opposed it upon the hopelessly unreal grounds of professional dignity and a supposedly desirable, but actually undesirable, neutrality of teachers on all social and economic matters. I have looked in vain through the current literature of this agitation for any general recognition of the question that is in the foreground of all fundamental thinking on the modern industrial problem. The question that is challenging all students of modern industry, the question that every teacher should ask and attempt to answer before advocating or denounc-

ing the unionization of teachers represented by the American Federation of Labor be a passing phase in the evolution of industrial relation?

My own belief is that trade-unionism, a goodly measure of which will always be necessary, has about outlived its usefulness as the dominant factor in the struggle for better industrial and professional relations. I am convinced that teachers are today contemplating alliance with a type of labor organization that enlightened labor will in time scrap in the interest of more statesmanlike organizations and more effective methods. Teachers who today unionize as trade-unions and affiliate with the American Federation of Labor may later discover that the movement that seemed a band-wagon proved a hearse.

When a penman indulges in such dogmatism, the common decencies of discussion demand that he place his cards on the table and frankly state the grounds of his opinion. Do not jump hastily to a conclusion. This is not the introduction to a reactionary tirade against organized labor, in the social usefulness and imperative necessity of which I ardently believe, as the reader will later see. Why, then, this cocksure statement that it would be a mistake for American teachers to unionize and affiliate with the American Federation?

Many opponents of such a move fear that affiliation with the American Federation of Labor would tend to turn teachers into radicals. I do not share this fear. My objection to such an affiliation is not that the American Federation of Labor is too radical, but that it is too conservative. By radical, of course, is here meant the habit of going to the root of a problem, not the popular perversion of the word which makes it mean the habit of making trouble for trouble's sake. The American Federation of Labor has done, is doing, and will continue to do an immense service for

the workers of the United States in improving their economic status; but the plain fact is that the federation is contributing nothing to the industrial thought of the time. It is in the rear rather than in the vanguard of industrial statesmanship.

But let us look a little more closely into the alternatives the teachers face. Negative criticism of this sort is always a challenge to constructive suggestion. Let us accept the challenge.

Broadly speaking, there are only two practically possible ideals battling for control of industrial relations. These two ideals are militant trade-unionism and industrial democracy. Between these two there is no half-way house that will afford more than transient shelter. In between there is only a medley of palliatives, temporizings, and opportunisms. Teachers, with their growing class-consciousness, must frankly choose between these two—militant trade-unionism or industrial democracy. Teachers must decide definitely whether they are to regard industrial and professional relations as a problem of warfare between competing groups or as a problem of representative government by cooperating groups.

A frank choice of either can be respected and can be made productive of good in the correction of certain immediate abuses, but anything less than a whole-hearted going over to one side or the other can, in my judgment, produce nothing but confusion and ineffective antagonisms.

For instance, what point can there be to a half-hearted unionization of teachers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, but *foregoing the right to strike*? This is the proposal we hear on every hand. But teachers' unions stand to lose more than they will gain thru affiliation with the American Federation of Labor unless they frankly join the ranks of militant trade-unionism and go the whole way on collective bargaining and striking. Such non-striking unions will sooner or later degenerate into the same sort of organizations as the old teachers' associations, which have signally failed to create professional solidarity, achieve for the mass of teachers better working conditions, or materially improve their economic status. Such unions will still be armed only with the weapons of moral suasion. And

the grand adventure of exerting moral suasion is not enough to create and sustain an effective teachers' organization.

A teachers' organization must possess some more concrete power to wield if it is to be more than an amiable sewing circle passing pretty, but powerless, resolutions. There are only two practically possible ways of their exercising such power: one way is by adopting the tactics of collective bargaining and striking; the other way is by teachers becoming responsible parts of a national educational system organized on the basis of representative government, by creating and administering an educational democracy to match the industrial democracy that is coming with all the inevitableness of a glacier or the march of the stars.

Again, do not jump hastily to a conclusion. I am raising none of the objections frequently made to the American Federation of Teachers and its affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.

Certain opponents of the American Federation of Teachers raise holy hands in horror at the prospect of its meaning class domination of the schools. But we already have class domination of the schools. It is the class now dominating the schools that is raising the bogey of labor domination. We should probably have quite as good educational policies under the dictation of Samuel Gompers as under the dictation of some local street-car magnate whose major interest is in seeing the school system a sort of institutional pæan to the God of Things as They Are. We should probably get quite as good results from the honest, human, amateur counsel of a labor leader as from the counsel of the occasional drab-minded, reactionary, visionless business or professional man who—say it softly—serves on our boards of education.

Other opponents of the American Federation of Teachers argue sophistically, like thirteenth-century theologians, that teachers have no business flirting with organized labor, because teachers are not employees because they receive salary instead of wages. The American Federation of Teachers can, at least, charge this group of opponents with an atrophied sense of humor. Perhaps the teacher enjoys a little greater sense of security as to

tenure of employment than does the day laborer, but in every other sense the teacher's problem is very much the laborer's problem. The teacher is less like the lawyer or physician with his fees than like the day laborer with his wages. And who can say that the average teacher's stability of tenure is not less than the stability of tenure enjoyed by the average employee of an established business firm?

Still others affect to believe, or at least to assert, that, if teachers join the ranks of organized labor, freedom of teaching will be destroyed and teachers will become the terrified slaves of labor leaders and the enforced purveyors of labor propaganda. Heaven knows there is little enough freedom of teaching now. The history of American education, from public schools to graduate cloisters, is checkered over with instances of sinister censorship. Even in this late day of enlightenment, in certain universities, if a teacher thinks a thought of a later vintage than 1776, he must do it with a weather eye on the watchful trustees of dead men's estates. No sane person desires any form of organized censorship over the teaching mind of the nation. But the disinterested student of American schools refuses to grow disturbed over the menace of labor influence on the liberty of teaching. If labor had some access to the inner circles of our schools, it might inject into the situation a wholesome corrective to the dangerous dominance of boards and benefactors.

None of these objections are, in my judgment, valid. The one fundamental objection to throwing the teaching profession into the ranks of American organized labor is based not upon what the American organized labor might do, but upon what American organized labor *is*. American organized labor is militant trade-unionism, a fighting organization without a philosophy other than the philosophy of the battle-field.

Trade-unionism has been, and still is, necessary; but it is an opportunist and transitional movement on the road to an ultimate organization of industrial relations upon the basis of representative government in industry. If I were a day laborer instead of a desk slave chained to a typewriter, I would belong to a union. But trade-

unionism is not a solution of the labor problem. Trade-unionism is industrial militarism. The one worthy goal of an industrial civilization is industrial government on a democratic basis. To reach this goal, we must have industrial statesmanship in addition to trade-union strategy.

Somebody whispers that this is the counsel of perfection. In a sense it is. The plain fact is that the industrial world is not ready for industrial democracy. Democracy, even in politics, cannot reach a high efficiency without something approaching a homogeneous people, a high level of average intelligence, and a general willingness on the part of all to accept responsibility. These factors are even more vitally necessary to the success of industrial democracy. Let us honestly admit that these raw materials of democracy cannot be found thruout the labor force of many industries. The adventure toward the democratization of industry must be made with vast patience and ceaseless education.

But—and here's the nub of the matter—these essentials of democracy exist in the teaching proving profession. Democratic government will work in the average school, although it might not yet work in the average industry. The teachers of America have the opportunity to blaze a new trail for American labor instead of blindly copying the past methods of American labor. The teachers of America can give us the first dramatic nationwide example of a "labor force" democratically administering their common interests. They can set the standard of achievement for American labor. Will they do it?

Nobody cherishes the idea of teachers striking, but the gain might be worth the gamble if every teacher in the United States joined in a "general strike" of educators and refused to "take up school" until there had been effected an agreement on the complete reorganization of the American school system on the basis of representative democratic government.

I offer no detailed blue-prints of an educational democracy, but we shall linger in the dark ages of education until representatives of the rank and file of teachers sit on all boards that decide questions of educational policy, of teachers' salaries,

working conditions, and the like. The personnel of many boards of education in American cities is a sad commentary upon the educational vision of our country. A few weeks ago I told an audience of three thousand teachers about a little Missouri village in which the board of education had two members who could neither read nor write. Three thousand teachers laughed. Yet it is possible to find on boards of education in big American cities men who, relatively, are as little fitted by temperament, training, and vision to settle the educational policies of a great city. Educational policy and the major part of educational administration must ultimately rest in the hands of teachers if our educational system is to give a square deal to its servants and render an effective ministry to the mind of the nation.

Then, too, the school-room itself must be democratized. The average American school-room is a little autocracy presided over by an educational kaiser or kaiserin. We are trying to teach the meaning of Americanism with the methods of Prussianism. We are constantly dinning into the ears of students that the essence of American democracy is self-government, and from kindergarten to university we rarely give them the chance to practise self-government.

This, then, is the challenge to the teachers of America: give to American labor a dramatic illustration of what its next achievement must be—industrial democracy. If the educational intelligence of America is not sensitive enough to see or courageous enough to accept this challenge, then I for one am heart and soul in favor of every American teacher's joining the American Federation of Teachers and demanding that the organization, for the time being at least, go the way of trade-unionism instead of temporizing in a make-believe union that frowns at bad conditions, but may not strike. For anything is better than allowing the present penurious policy of the nation toward its teachers to persist.

But, let it be said again, it is not low pay alone or primarily that is causing the exodus from the teaching profession. The myth of dignity has been blasted. As President Davis, of Hunter College, has said: "The claim that teaching is more refined, has shorter hours, involves less

strain than office work is pretty well exploded." The necessity of self-support is causing teachers to demand better pay, but self-respect is causing them to demand self-government. This is the next step.—*From the Century Magazine for February, 1921.*

WEARING A MASK OF PATRIOTISM

When William H. Barr, President of the National Founders' Association, describes the progress of the open-shop campaign as "a stimulant to the patriotism of every one," he is dealing in snivelling hypocrisy at a time when honesty and frankness in all economic matters were never more necessary.

The champions of the open shop are not actuated by any patriotic impulse whatever. They believe that the open shop is more profitable to themselves than the closed shop and that to destroy the unions would put money in their pockets. That is all there is to the controversy. The open-shop advocates wear a mask of patriotism because they are afraid to meet the economic issue.

A Nation-wide campaign has been inaugurated against organized labor. The plans were all laid during the Presidential contest, and the Harding majority was interpreted as evidence that public opinion has swung wholly to the side of reaction. Associations of manufacturers and their professional walking delegates have been boasting that the Harding Administration would be an open-shop Administration, and, curiously enough, union labor helped to furnish the votes that provided the Harding majority.

The organized employer advocates of the open shop are not concerned at all with principle, however vociferously they profess to be. What they want is a labor market in which they can dictate wages, hours of employment and working conditions, regardless of the social consequences of such economic tyranny. They want to treat labor as part of the raw materials of their factories, to be bought at their own price and used as they see fit. That is all there is to the organized campaign in behalf of the open shop, which increases in confidence as industrial conditions become more unsettled.

The attitude of its advocates is well illustrated by further remarks of the President of the National Founders' Association when he demanded the "complete elimination" of the labor clauses from the covenant of the League of Nations. As it happens, these clauses are not part of the covenant; they are part of the treaty of peace, and they represent the most enlightened thought of the world in regard to the international relations of labor. Nothing could better define the real aims of the open-shop propaganda than its avowed antagonism to the labor section of the Treaty of Versailles.

An organized and well-financed open-shop campaign can create a great deal of industrial trouble in the United States and add immeasurably to the difficulties of reconstruction, but it will never succeed except by wrecking the industrial fabric of the country, because there is no real honesty and sincerity back of it. There is nothing back of it but greed and sordidness, and in the long run greed and sordidness cannot dictate the economic policies of the American people.—Editorial in New York *World* of November 18, 1920.

THE MODERN HEALTH CRUSADE AS A PART OF THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM

ELIZABETH COLE

*Assistant Publicity Secretary, National Tuberculosis
Association*

When attempts have been made to introduce the Modern Health Crusade into certain schools, teachers have argued oftentimes that the days already are so crowded with work that there is no time to devote to a new movement. This article aims to convince any "doubting Thomas" (or Jane) that the few minutes taken out of the daily schedule to check up chores is more than made up during the day by wide-awake enthusiastic pupils. It aims to show, also, how the Crusade may be worked in as a background to make more vitally interesting many branches of study besides Hygiene and Physiology.

Ten minutes in the morning is the time allowed by most teachers for inspection and for Health Chore checking. These duties may be managed by certain boys and girls who have been chosen honorarily for the purpose. During this period inspection of floors, of ventilation and regulation of temperature may be made by a boy or girl who is known as a "health officer." Captains and heralds, also chosen from the children, have the honor of going about the room inspecting for cleanliness of person, tidy hair and neat clothes. Such horrors as unclean nails or dirt behind-the-ears are most relentlessly criticized. As can be imagined children's bright eyes are only too vigilant in searching out such details. Their "quality of mercy" is neither strained nor restrained when it comes to taking a fellow student to task. There simply is no mercy! All this becomes routine work and often takes even less than ten minutes.

Eight schools in the South where health officers and inspectors were elected have shown such marked changes in schoolroom appearance that it was a pleasure to visit there. A tiny piece of scrap paper on the floor is now a disgrace, dirty inkwells unpardonable, and as for sharpening pencils on the floor, that act is a positive crime. The neatly dressed children with their clean, bright faces that beam with satisfaction upon being complimented for their successes are a joy

to see. This is *their* schoolroom. *They* are responsible for its attractiveness. Give a child definite responsibility and he will take it generally with more seriousness than most grown-ups. Leave him alone in carrying out that responsibility and he not only will admire you for your confidence in him, but alas have twice the enthusiasm over his important duty.

The Crusade was started primarily to teach Health habits and was associated most specifically with Hygiene and Physiology lessons. It was not doubted from the first that the actual results of textbook teachings of Health would be more effective with Health Crusade methods. The way in which the Crusade has amplified and served as a background for other courses, however, has been truly amazing.

For example, Reading lessons have become more dramatic affairs since the introduction of plays and pageants, based on Health Knights and fairies, has aroused the imagination. Moreover, an interest in reading legends, folk lore and tales of knighthood has been keener and more pertinent. For Arithmetic problems the populations of neighboring cities or towns may be worked out in relation to the numbers of public health officers or public nurses. The proportions and computation of chores by the week, month, by the row, room or school, all make problems. Of course Spelling and Penmanship use respectively, health words and sentences. Domestic Science, naturally, is aided in manifold ways by the questions of diet, sanitation and food values which arise and relate this subject to good health habits.

In Civics the conditions of the home town or city make a special appeal to students who are eager for the best Health conditions. In Chemistry, milk is tested. In Biology, the prolific habits and rapid development of the germ-laden fly are searched out. Knowledge of this sort is practical and helps to make better informed citizens. It trains for more intelligent, interested voters and office-holders.

The school schedule may be considered as a chain, the links of which are the subjects studied. It is a chain of Education plus Health. The two go hand in hand in the days that prepare our boys and girls for the business of life. In school days

habits are formed which later will govern the daily curriculum of life. The Habit of Health should certainly be present. More depends on training in this than in knowing the "three Rs." For what profiteth it a man if he have encyclopedic knowledge if he have not health?

The Modern Health Crusade should have a place in every schools' curriculum. It is not a separate movement. It is a practical link that holds together the chain of Education.

SCHOOL SURVEYS BY TEACHERS

Viewed as a piece of scientific work the projected study of school administration in New York City by Henry R. Linville and the Teachers' Union may or may not be important, but it will apparently have value as a contribution to ideals of school management in New York in the year 1921. The proposed study has already called forth from the board of superintendents a report dealing largely with the personal qualities of Dr. Linville which will doubtless serve that gentleman as Exhibit A in his inquiry.

It is a pity that prejudice should apparently blind members of the board to the possibilities of a study of the school system by members of the rank and file of the teachers—especially by teachers who are non-conformist enough not to feel under the necessity of saying only pleasant things about the system. At worst such a study might be a harmless means of working off surplus energy. At best it may be a genuine contribution to the really meagre store of knowledge in the field of democracy in education.

There have been plenty of school surveys in recent years, some of them of compelling interest and value, but studies by teachers themselves of the school system as it affects directly the teacher and the pupil have been rare. We are accustomed to say "the teacher is the school," and then promptly forget it, as far as any true effort to get at the teacher's point of view is concerned.

That the teachers have a point of view on matters of educational policy, quite apart from the bread and butter considerations to which they have had to give disproportionate attention in recent years, is clear to any who will take the trouble to see. Officials of the United States Bureau of Education who last year made a study of the schools of Washington, D. C., were strongly impressed with the culture and idealism of the Washington teaching force. As far as the Washington schools were concerned, the Bureau investigators were certain that the best hope of progress lay in the teachers themselves.

It is not merely the reiterated personal attack on an individual teacher that makes one who reads the superintendents' report on the Linville case feel uncomfortable about the quality of leadership in the New York school system. The use of evidence in the report is even more disquieting. The committee condemns Dr. Linville on the basis of detached sentences taken from contributed articles to the *American Teacher*, a reputable school journal which Dr. Linville has had a part in editing. It would be just as fair to judge the *New York Times* by detached

quotations from its articles by H. G. Wells on Russia.

In other ways the school authorities show a disposition to put obstacles in the way of the teachers' study of the schools. But the public will be interested in any light they may throw on the problems of education in a democracy.—*From the New York Evening Post of January 19, 1921.*

TEACHER SURVEYS OF SCHOOL SYSTEMS

The Teachers Union of New York is taxing itself to have its agent spend a year surveying the needs of the schools.

Should the teaching corps of schools and colleges follow or avoid this example?

Even among readers of Public Service are probably some who would say that whether or not teachers should survey depends upon the motive and the ability of the surveyors.

New York City's board of superintendents refused to encourage or countenance either survey or surveyor-in-chief proposed by the Teachers Union, and refused to grant its agent leave of absence without pay.

How do you personally and officially feel about a survey of your school by its teachers?

Just suppose New York City's officers had thanked the Teachers Union for its desire to get facts before agitating for changes. Suppose they had "cited" the proposal as an encouraging sign. Suppose they had said that they would even consider making it a condition of continuing in the system that teachers and principals make surveys of school needs, what a stimulus to big thinking and big acting it would have been!

What's the effect of their forcing the resignation of a teacher? Well, what is usually the effect of such action?

The published reasons for refusing leave of absence include these that the teachers' inquiry is unnecessary; that their agent has personal grievances; that he is not wellfitted and not competent by reason of his experience, temperament, associations and views of democracy to conduct such an investigation; that the proposal is really an attempt at a time of general unrest to sow the seeds of discord among teachers.

For sake of argument let's assume that the case is even worse than the superintendents report, and that the Teachers Union in the guise of a survey want to disrupt the school system and libel their officers—what better way was there to "smoke out" the truth than to give the requested leave of absence without pay? What harm could a putative, misvevor do to a whole school on leave of absence that he could not do if absent without leave or while teaching?

Teachers, please think this out: Is any person fit to teach American school children unfit to be allowed a year's leave of absence without pay to survey any blessed thing he wants to survey up to his nearest or remotest superior officer?

If there is unrest among teachers the question of educational statesmanship is not how many frankly avow or secretly suppress it, but what basis there is for it even where teachers themselves have not yet felt it. So far as there is any basis, libelling excellencies need do no harm, nor will denying evils and discouraging surveys keep the evils from growing.

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From the Bulletin of the Institute for Public Service.

News From the Locals

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS NEWS COMMITTEE

Local 2, Chicago—E B Collette and V O Graham

Local 3, Chicago—Dorothy Weil.

CALIFORNIA NEWS NOTES

Sacramento — Teachers' Councils are more talked about now than any other feature of the movement towards DEMOCRACY in EDUCATION. In Sacramento, the teachers' council, comprising union and non-union teachers, drew up and carried into actual operation a salary schedule that puts Sacramento in the lead for California. In 1918 the high school maximum was \$1,618, today it is \$2,700. The maximum for grade schools is \$1,920. The teachers worked for their superintendents as well as for themselves. He received in 1918, \$3,600; now he gets \$5,400.

Why has the educational world not heard more of the Sacramento plan of democratic school administration? Are superintendents outside of Sacramento afraid to capitalize in an honest manner, the ability of the class-room teacher?

(Note: All but two of the high school teachers are members of Local No 31. The grade school teachers are well represented in Local No 44.)

San Francisco—Union teachers in San Francisco have effected the reorganization of the San Francisco school department, thru the passage of an amendment to the city charter. The amendment was proposed by a group comprising union teachers, drafted by the editor of *The Labor Clarion*, first endorsed by the Central Labor Council (and seconded by the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce) and carried by a campaign in which union teachers were active. Speakers from the teachers' union appeared before every crafts union in the city and secured the labor vote. The proposition to reorganize the school department of San Francisco by amendment No 37 was endorsed by both universities thru their official representatives, and by heads of normal and other educational institutions. Thus was cooperation between scholarship and labor again proved effective. Local No 61 it is needless to say is on the map.

(Query: Why did the city superintendents of California in their annual convention resolve that "teachers should refrain from participation in any political campaign, national, State, or local?")

Santa Clara County—Even the opponents of Santa Clara County Local No 153 acknowledge that the increased tax voted by the county supervisors was due to the presentation of the case made by the teachers' union. Local No 153 is keeping alive in Santa Clara County the spirit that existed there twenty years ago, when a teachers' union was organized and served as a protest against the stifling of the progress of the schools of San José.

Fresno—In spite of the opposition of a school board which has no conception of the spirit of modern education, or perhaps partly because of the unintelligent character of that opposition, the Fresno locals are keeping up their earnest attempt to make of the Fresno school system a place where it will be safe for teachers to be active in the improvement of the schools. Local No 84 is making a study of the more important school surveys of the United States.

Editors, THE AMERICAN TEACHER:

Do you think it would be of service to teachers' locals, if they would appoint some competent individuals from their roster to examine and purchase books on live subjects suitable for educating the average class-room teacher in educational democracy?

For some time it has seemed to me that the slow growth of our locals has been due in a large measure to the fact that the average teacher does not understand many of the principles of the A F T.

Could not such a committee purchase copies of articles which would tend to spread among teachers ideas on educational democracy?

THOMAS P KYLE,
Local 92, Paterson, New Jersey.

NEW JERSEY NEWS

The teachers of Paterson, New Jersey, Local 92, A F of T, are much pleased with the appointment of Mr Joseph Manley a class-room teacher, and one of the charter members of Local 92, to a position on the Board of Examiners. Altho Paterson has had a Board of Examiners for examining candidates for teacher's licenses for over twenty years, there has never been a class-room teacher on the board. Its members were usually school principals.

Yet, who is so able to test the knowledge, and estimate the teaching ability of an applicant better than one who is daily teaching efficiently?

We believe that such appointments, so long as uncontrolled, are steps along the path of Democracy in Education.

THE CHICAGO LOCALS

With the backing of organized labor the Chicago locals vigorously opposed the "Loeb Rule," passed in 1915 and aimed at destruction of effective teachers' organizations, and as a result obtained the tenure law which assures Chicago teachers a fair trial before dismissal from service. Naturally the organized teachers were very active in the campaign conducted a year ago for increase of salary. The Chicago school system was being jeopardized by the inadequate pay received by the teachers. Fortunately the Chicago locals did not find it necessary to undertake this campaign alone.

For years they have earnestly advocated teachers' councils. The Chicago High School Teachers' Council has been established and is working on a firm foundation for the welfare of the schools. There is a fixed determination that it shall be effective and permanent. Thru this Council all the high school teachers become supporters of more democratic and progressive activities. Needless to say it is not popular with principals. But "Democracy in Education" is steadily growing and more and more teachers are realizing that their responsibility extends much further than mere class-room activities. When the Council decided to take up the salary campaign last year the locals gladly cooperated and gave all possible assistance.

At the present time the Chicago teachers are engaged in a most important legislative campaign. House Bill 296 seeks to equalize Chicago with the rest of the State in regard to its tax rate for school support. House Bill 297 seeks to amend the township and community high school law making it possible for Chicago and other Illinois cities to levy and collect for high and continuation schools an additional rate beyond that now permitted for the support of all other schools, without requiring the division of administration between two boards of education, in other words giving the taxation benefit of a township high school system without creating a new municipality. Senate Bill 75 seeks to increase the State appropriation from six million to twenty million dollars in order to make it possible to maintain efficient schools thruout the State and to equalize educational opportunity in Illinois. The fourth bill seeks to secure for the State university, and the State normal school adequate support so that the work of training teachers may be efficiently done. These bills have been agreed upon by representatives of several political forces and of the Chicago Board of Education as well as by the Chicago Schools Committee representing the teachers. The campaign is in charge of the latter committee which was selected by the High School Teachers' Council. Of this committee Mr W T McCoy, President of Chicago Men No 2, is chairman. Before election almost every legislative measures backed by the teachers, relating to the needs in education.

The Federation members have been addressing various locals of organized labor thruout the city for the last two months on "The Condition of the Schools and Their Needs." They are also working hand in hand with other teacher groups, the State Teachers' Association and organized labor to see that the welfare of the schools is one of the first things to be considered. They are convinced that cooperation with other organizations is the most effective method. This fact has greatly increased interest in the locals because it is felt by them that they must not surrender the right of initiative or of decision. Cooperation implies organization. They feel that eternal vigilance is necessary. They are finding out that

the welfare of the educational system fundamentally rests in the hands of the class-room teachers. The task to which they are called is not an easy one. It involves years of hard work and continued effort, but it is well worth while. Thru it all there is increasing realization of the value of the NATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF CLASS-ROOM TEACHERS.

In this issue you will notice a statement of the Educational Program at present being fought for in Illinois. We would like for publication statements concerning the educational programs of other states, and some account of the part locals are taking in the work. Send these to the office of the Secretary-Treasurer.

Accompanying a contribution of \$50.00 to the publicity campaign, Local No. 101 of the Superior State Normal School writes thru Miss Nona MacQuiklin, its treasurer, "As I look at the total of \$734 which you quoted in your letter of March first, and as I compare it with the huge sum we are in the habit of associating with advertising schemes, I am a bit disheartened till I remember the purity of our ideals and the courage and energy of our leaders: then faith that we will in time succeed returns."

Fulton County, Georgia—Charter No. 183 was issued to the Fulton County School Teachers' Association on February 22. Mr. Jere A Wells of Atlanta, Georgia, and Miss Lucy Johnson of Atlanta are respectively the president and secretary of the new organization which has become a part of our movement thru the efforts of Mr C E Phillips, Vice-President of the A F of T and President of the Atlanta Public School Teachers' Association No 89.

Madison, Wisconsin—A novel method of financing its share of the publicity work is being planned by Local 35 of Madison, Wisconsin, which proposes to give a number of card parties at fifty cents a place after it has secured as many personal pledges as possible. The officers elected for 1921 by No 35 are, President, Miss Katherine P Regan, who was a delegate to the St Paul

convention; Secretary, Miss Leta M Wilson, while Mr Leo Schleck was re-elected treasurer. An active membership campaign has been started by the local which the new president is confident will double its size within the year.

New Orleans, Louisiana—Miss Loretta Shook, a delegate to the St Paul convention, was unanimously elected president of New Orleans Local No 36 for the coming year at the January meeting, and Miss Ida M Coburn was re-elected secretary. Miss Shook succeeds Miss Augusta Auriann, who after two years of very effective work as president withdrew to accept the first vice-presidency; the local constitution limiting to two consecutive years the term of any person in any one office.

Portland, Oregon—The Portland local maintained open house on the last day of the Oregon State Teachers' Association meeting in a room procured on the first floor of the Portland Hotel. Numbers of teachers, both local and out of town, dropped in.

Montana—Governor Dickson of Montana recently vetoed and effectively ended a bill providing for an oath of loyalty from all Montana teachers. The bill, which was originally adopted by an overwhelming majority of the legislature, was designed to slur the Montana teachers as disloyal for having decided at a recent meeting of the State Teachers' Association to take an active interest in community affairs.

This the teachers proposed to do by the issuance of "a series of pamphlets meant to acquaint the citizens of Montana with the laws under which they are governed, and by so doing to enhance the quality of their citizenship."

The offending pamphlet consisted of excerpts from the State Constitution of Montana!

Several locals are asking for information concerning the sliding scale for salaries. Methods of determining salaries in accordance with training, experience, etc, vary greatly thruout the country. If you can tell them of the basis of some of the locals or schools which have a sliding scale, address the Secretary-Treasurer.

Orders for quantities of the "Better-School Service Report" are coming in large numbers from organizations and individuals not even affiliated with the A F of T. The Teacher's Co-operative Council of Kansas City, Missouri, the Dayton School Masters' Club, the Chicago High School Teachers' Club, Mr O E Reynolds, professor of Education, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York, are among those who have commented very favorably on the report and have bought it in large numbers.

SCHOOL BOARD DISCHARGES MISSES SHEA AND FOODY; OTHERS FOUND GUILTY; JOBS BACK IF THEY APOLOGIZE

Miss Agnes M Shea, local school teacher, and president of the Teachers' Educational League, and Miss Helen C Foody, also a teacher, and recording secretary of the league, were today found guilty of all counts of misconduct and insubordination by members of the board of education in session behind closed doors this noon, and were dismissed from the city's teaching force.

Miss Katharine Jordan, Miss Isabel M Lee, Miss Mary A Behan and Miss Catharine Cassidy, teachers and officers of the league, were found guilty, but not dismissed. These latter four will be given opportunity until March 1 to send their written apologies to the school board, whereupon, in event of sending apologies, they will be reinstated with back pay allowed to them, but dismissed in event of failure to send apologies.

The board was divided, three to two, in the case of the last four named.

Louis E Desbecker and George Zimmerman filed a dissenting memorandum regarding the last four named. Those two members of the school board held that the evidence did not show that the Misses Lee, Jordan, Cassidy and Behan individually sponsored the issue of the pamphlet and therefore the charges should be dismissed. Chairman Emerson, Mrs Wickser and Raymond Bissell voted to find the four guilty but to give them a chance.—From Buffalo (N Y) Newspapers.

They are all members of Local 182, A F of T. We understand there will be no apology.

PURCHASING POWER OF SALARIES 1914-1920

The data presented on page 48, are based on "cost of living" studies undertaken by the National Industrial Conference Board.

This figure shows that the purchasing power of money salaries) in midyear of 1920 was only half as great as in 1914, corresponding to a shrinkage of 50 per cent. In order, therefore, that the standard of living of salaried employees be maintained at the same level as in 1914, it would have been necessary to increase salaries for the same services as rendered in 1914, 100 per cent.

PUBLICITY

The office of Miss Josephine Colby, Field Secretary and Vice-President of the A F of T is a very busy place. Miss Colby is in charge of publicity and her office has prepared for magazines, newspapers and farm journals a great deal of material setting forth urgent school needs.

Special emphasis is being given to the need for real Americanization work as enunciated in the St Paul declarations. The need of tenure provisions for teachers, the need of pensions systems, higher professional standards and better conditions generally, is being stressed, and in most cases the papers are accepting the material. Returns from the first story sent out were coming in a month later. Papers in California, Arizona, New Mexico, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Minnesota, Tennessee, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Louisiana, Pennsylvania, Maryland, South Carolina, New York, New Jersey, Maine, Connecticut and District of Columbia carried the story.

The publicity fund is growing rapidly. Most locals as well as individuals are enthusiastic about the need for publicity concerning educational questions, and the activities of the A F of T. A list of contributors will be published later. So that they may keep in touch with the work, all who contribute are to receive the bulletin of the A F of T issued by the office of the Secretary-Treasurer. At the time of going to press, paid in contributions amounted to \$1010.00.

A READING LIST

The attention of readers of the AMERICAN TEACHER is called to the following articles which have appeared in the 1921 magazines:

In the February Century, a most helpful and thought-provoking attack upon the teachers' union movement.

In the Survey for February 12, a study of the activities of Better America Federation in propagandizing the public schools.

In the Survey for February 26, a study of Americanism and its relation to academic freedom.

In the Nation for February 23, an editorial on the Americanization program of the A F T.

BOOK REVIEWS

Conducted by Alice L. Wood, Local 8,
Washington, D. C.

"The Church and Industrial Reconstruction." The Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook. Association Press, 347 Madison Avenue, New York. \$2.00.

This is the third of a series of reports by the above committee, an inter-denominational group appointed "to consider the state of religion as revealed or affected by the war, with special reference to the duty and opportunity of the churches."

It is an extremely thoro and searching study, frank and honest in its conclusions. The first chapter, *The Christian Ideal for Society*, recognizes the conflicting opinions of various groups of Christians, but enunciates as fundamental, five principles which may be accepted as standards by which our social life may be judged. These are the supreme worth of personality in the sight of God, the brotherhood of all men as children of one Father, the obligation of service to one's fellows, the law of love as the ruling motive of life, and the duty of faith in God and in humanity. An elaboration of each one of these fundamental principles follows. This discussion serves as a basis for the rest of the inquiry. One by one these principles are taken up and the present industrial system is examined and tested by them. Then follows the question by what means shall Christianity secure social betterment, what obligations rest upon the individual Christian, and upon the Church as an organization.

It is hardly necessary to inform any student of the present industrial system that it fails to stand the tests imposed by the mere statement of the above named principles. For instance, the present system is inconsistent with the sacredness of personality:

1. In the social attitude toward labor—i.e., in an impersonal view of labor as a commodity—of the "labor market," etc., a view which still very largely prevails.
2. In result of the present system, regardless of our attitude.

Personality is dwarfed by various factors:

1. Lack of continuous opportunity to work.
2. Inadequate income.

3. Inadequate leisure.

4. Dwarfing the personalities of the future thru (a) child labor, (b) failure to protect women workers.

The chapter on Present Practical Steps Toward a More Christian Industrial Order discusses the topics:

I. Measures Designed to Develop and Protect Personality.

- (a) Providing security against unemployment.
- (b) Providing income for all, sufficient for self-realization.
- (c) Providing leisure for all, sufficient for self-realization.
- (d) Protecting the Personalities of the future:

1. Safeguarding children from exploitation.
2. Safeguarding women in industry.

II. Securing a Democratic Organization of Industry More Consistent with Brotherhood.

III. Securing a Distribution of Profit More Consistent with the Idea of Service.

The Chapter on What Individual Christians Can Do to Christianize the Industrial Order discusses Christians as Employers, as Investors, as Employees, as Consumers, and as Citizens.

These chapters may give an idea of the scope of the work, which impresses me as having been most painstaking and exhaustive.

An appendix gives a very useful Selected Bibliography on the Church and Social Reconstruction.

One great value of this book seems to be its appeal with its array of facts and clear unescapable conclusions, to an audience not reached by the various organs concerned directly with industrial problems.

The Letters of William James (II Volumes). The Atlantic Monthly Press, Boston. \$10.00.

The two volumes of these letters, some of which have appeared in *The Atlantic Monthly*, are of surpassing interest and charm. The light thrown on William James, surely one of the most delightful of philosophers (we find he objected

to the title of psychologist) adds to our appreciation of the breadth of his interests and the sweetness of his nature. In addition, just as we saw William James in Henry James' *A Small Boy and Others*, so here we get a very pleasing light on Henry thru William James' letters and comments.

Among the many things that might be selected for mention, I think that the criticism William gives Henry James' "third manner," and his letters to Henry Adams' in answer to Adams' lectures to teachers of history (The Degradation of the Democratic Dogma) are perhaps most timely. I cannot resist quoting the first:

"You know how opposed your whole 'third manner' of execution is to the literary ideals which animate my crude and Orson-like breast; mine being to say a thing in one sentence as straight and explicit as it can be made, and then to drop it forever: yours being to avoid naming its straight, but by dint of breathing and sighing all round and round it, to arouse in the reader who may have had a similar perception already (Heaven help him if he hadn't!) the illusion of a solid object, made (like the 'Ghost at the Polytechnic') wholly out of impalpable materials, air, and the prismatic interferences of light, ingeniously focused by mirrors upon empty space. But you *do* it, that's the queerness! And the complication of innuendo and associative reference on the enormous scale to which you give way to it does so *build out* the matter for the reader that the result is to solidify, by the mere bulk of the process, the like perception from which *he* has to start. As air, by dint of its volume, will weigh like a corporal body, so his own poor little initial perception, swathed in this gigantic envelopment of suggestive atmosphere, grows like a germ into something vastly bigger and more substantial. . . . For gleams and innuendoes and felicitous verbal insinuations you are unapproachable, but the *core* of literature is solid. Give it to us *once* again! The rare perfume of things will not support existence, and the effect of solidity you reach is but perfume and simulacrum."

There are fascinating letters to Bergson, to H G Wells, to Charles Eliot Norton, O W Holmes Jr, Henry L Higginson, George Santayana, W D Howells, Josiah Royce and numerous other famous men and women, beside the ones to his brother and his family.

This book and the Life and Letters of John Fiske, with Henry Adams' Education, give us a valuable picture of Harvard University life as well as the lives of three supremely interesting men.

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Executive Council of the American Federation
of Teachers

President, CHARLES B STILLMAN, Chicago, No 2
1620 Lake Avenue, Wilmette, Ill

Secretary-Treasurer, F G STECKER, Chicago, No 2
State Bank Building, Wilmette, Ill

Field Secretary, Vice-President
JOSEPHINE COLBY, Fresno, No 72
1024 Garrick Building, Chicago, Ill

Editor, The American Teacher, Vice-President
HENRY R LINVILLE, New York City, No 5
70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N Y

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2875 Broadway, New York, N Y

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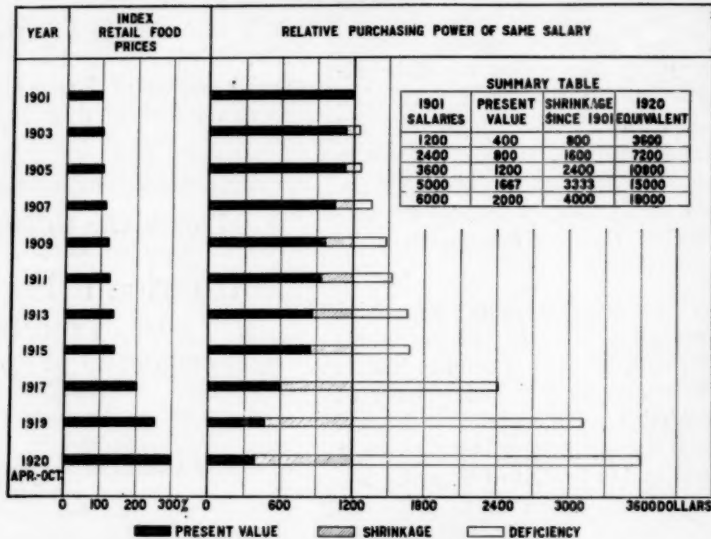
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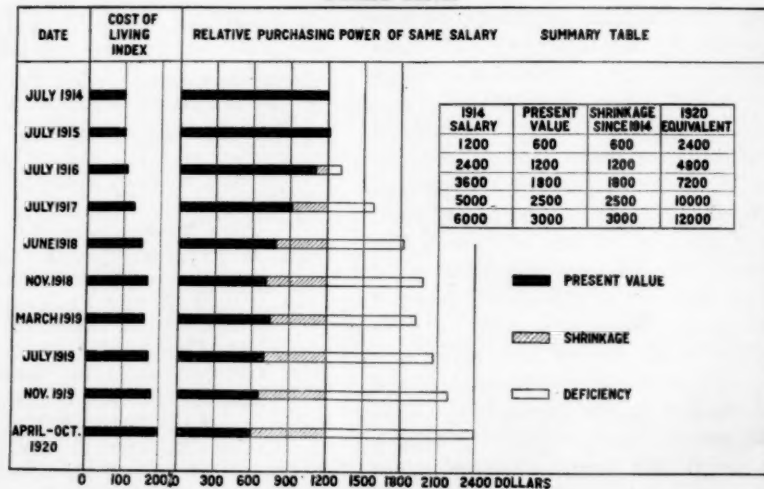
ISABEL WILLIAMS, St Paul Women, No 28
554 Holly Avenue, St Paul, Minn

Salaries and the Cost of Living

PURCHASING POWER OF SALARIES 1901-1920



PURCHASING POWER OF SALARIES 1914-20 PREPARED FROM NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE BOARD DATA



From figures furnished by the Bureau of Standards, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.



The American Teacher

